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ABSTRACT

A national survey of personal interviews with 539 working women and 993 working men, was intended to test the reliability of the following stereotypes about American women who work: (1) American women work just for pin money, (2) Women work only for economic reasons, (3) Women are more concerned with the social aspects of their jobs, (4) Women prefer not to take initiative on their jobs, (5) Women are more concerned with "extrinsic" job characteristics, (6) Women are less concerned with challenging work, and (7) Women are less concerned with advancement on their jobs. A review of previous occupational research revealed that sex differences affecting jobs are small in magnitude, with the only consistent difference being that women are more concerned with the social aspects of their jobs. The survey results indicated that about 40 percent of working women were not economically dependent on a male wage earner, that differences in early socialization of boys and girls explain many of the seeming sex differences in work attitudes, and that women show less desire for initiative on the job. Various tables present the data, which rank the importance of job characteristics to working men and women. A related finding was that the average underpayment to women was $3,458 annually as compared with equally qualified male workers. (AG)

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Joan E. Crowley, Teresa E. Levitin and Robert P. Quinn

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The American man works to support his family, to contribute to society, and to find his place in the sun. He wants a job that challenges him intellectually. He wants to show initiative; and above all in our achievement-oriented society, he wants to get ahead.

The American woman works for pin money. She does that only when she has to. She is indifferent to intellectual challenge at work and is not interested in finding work that contributes significantly to her perception of herself. What concerns her most are friendly co-workers and whether or not she gets home from work in time to fix dinner for her family.

These are admittedly stereotypical views of working men and women in our society, and they might at first seem innocuous and perhaps even a bit quaint. They become dangerous weapons, however, when they are used to relegate working women to second-class employment and to justify differential treatment of men and women in terms of wages, promotions, and quality of employment. Moreover, a woman's acceptance of such a stereotype and its incorporation into her image of herself may not only lead her to submit to such discrimination without complaint but to limit the full development of her potentialities.

How accurate are such stereotypic views of the American working woman? This paper attempts to answer this question. Most of the stereotypes that were examined were found to be both vague and full of half-stated assumptions. They were therefore reduced to a set of seven relatively more explicit statements that were intended to be neither exclusive nor exhaustive but which were testable with the data available. These stereotypes were:

1. American women work just for pin money.
2. Women would not work if they did not absolutely have to for economic reasons.
3. Women are more concerned than men with the socio-emotional aspects of their jobs.
4. Women prefer not to take initiative on the job.
5. Women are more concerned than men with the hygenic aspects of their jobs.
6. Women are less concerned than men with challenging work.
7. Women are less concerned than men with getting ahead on their jobs.

Relevant to most stereotypes about working men and women are the assumed differences between the sexes in their reasons for working and in the meaning to them of work. Such differences have generally been interpreted in terms of either biology or, more commonly, stable personality traits developed in childhood or adolescence.

Early socialization prepares children for different adult attitudes toward work and for different personal styles and interests that have direct implications for their choice of careers, interest in work, and

occupational success or failure. The early training of girls is aimed at producing women whose energies will be primarily directed toward caring for their husbands and families, with a job as a secondary, "fall-back-on-it-if-you-really-need-it" goal. As a result of this training there are pervasive sex differences in the occupational aspirations of adolescents (Douvan & Adelson, 1966). Boys are concerned with achievement, girls with affiliation; boys are concerned with work through which they can identify themselves, girls with work that is secondary to other self-defining goals.

> Boys tend to concentrate on the vocational future and their style is all business -- concrete, crystallized, tied to reality, if not always realistic. They think of job preparation and channels, and of their own capabilities and tastes for particular work roles . . . Girls focus on the interpersonal aspects of future life -- on marriage and the roles of wife and mother . . . Their reasons for choosing particular jobs reveal that girls want jobs that express feminine interests and provide a social setting for meeting prospective husbands . . . (A girl) need not test her desire against her own talent and skill, since these will not be crucial determinants of her future status (Douvan & Adelson, 1966, pp. 342-343).

Hoffman (1972) has critically reviewed the early socialization processes which result in feminine, dependent girls, and independent, exploring boys. These processes begin at birth and continue into adulthood. Both sexes learn early which behaviors are tolerated and/or rewarded. Dependency is encouraged in little girls at a time when it is forbidden to little boys. Boys are more likely to be forced into exploring on their own, girls to be overprotected, learning to be cautious and to rely on others rather than on their own abilities.

The outcome of such socialization is that girls, on the average, become women who are more dependent and passive than men, who are motiva-

ted more by affiliative than achievement needs and who do not see their jobs as important aspects of themselves or as central to their self-esteem. Boys, on the average, become men who are more independent and assertive than women and who regard their work roles as important to their self-identities.

But socialization does not stop at adolescence. There are, for example, many social forces that encourage women to become more independent and assertive and to view their jobs as important components of themselves. Education and professional training provide women with opportunities to develop career interests. An important source of resocialization may be the demand characteristics of the job itself. Thus, jobs which permit initiative and independence may elicit such behaviors even when they contradict earlier dispositions. Observed sex differences in work-related characteristics can be fully understood only in light of both their consistency with what is known about early socialization and with data that somehow take into account the possible effects of subsequent socialization and work experiences.

Background

Many of the stereotypes about working women hinge upon supposed sex differences in what is important to workers in their jobs. Considering the social implications of these sex differences, relevant data are surprisingly scarce and replicated findings are even scarcer.

Herzberg et al.'s 1957 review of previous research concerning which job facets were important to workers summarized the findings of nine studies that examined sex differences. Figure 1, taken from Herzberg et al., shows the mean ranks of eleven job facets for female and male employees.

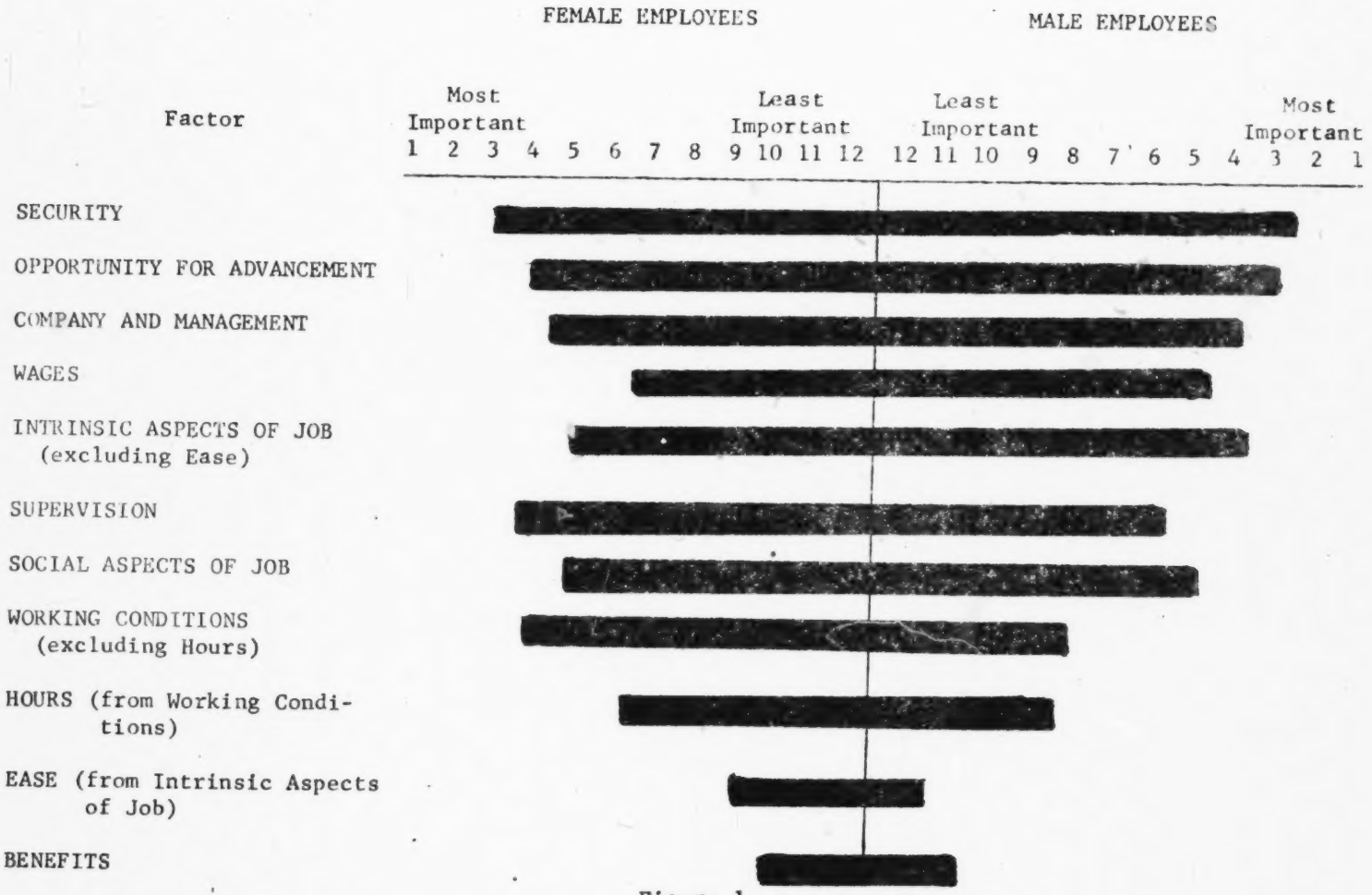

Figure 1

Mean Ranks of Job Facets with Regard to their Importance to Male and Female Employees.
(Data Compiled from 9 Studies, Including about 10,000 Employees; figure reproduced from Herzberg et al., 1957, page 52)

Herzberg et al.'s interpretation of this figure was as follows:

> The factor which is most apparently different in importance for male and female employees is Working Conditions. As might be expected, Working Conditions are substantially more important to women than to men. Similarly, "ease" of work ranks higher for women than for men, although other intrinsic aspects of the job are more important to men. Since the majority of employed women do not have the same magnitude of off-the-job- responsibility as their male co-workers, the lower ranks given by women to Wages and to Opportunity for Advancement seem quite reasonable. Similarly in line with current stereotypes is the greater influence on women's preferences of the Social aspects of the Job.

In a later national survey of workers, Kipatrick, Cummings, and Jennings (1964) found that men tended to stress security, opportunity for self-advancement, and amount of self-determination of the job as positive values. Women, significantly more than men, mentioned personal relationships with people at work, good and understanding supervision, and doing work that was worthwhile. The two greatest points of similarity between the data summarized by Herzberg et al., and those obtained by Kilpatrick, Cummings, and Jennings were that more women than men felt that the social aspects of their jobs were important, and fewer women than men were concerned with their opportunities for advancement. The general conclusion made by Herzberg et al. that men were more intrinsically oriented than women was not substantiated in the Kilpatrick, Cummings, and Jennings survey.

Even the observed sex differences just reported were not very great. Only with regard to the social aspects of the job did Kilpatrick, Cummings, and Jennings observe sex differences in importance estimates among the general population that were in excess of ten percent; most differences were considerably less. Likewise, as Figure 1 indicates, the rank differences obtained by Herzberg et al. for men and women were in some cases so small as to make the conclusions drawn from them tentative at best. For

example, the sex differences in ranks for opportunity for advancement, wages, and intrinsic aspects of the job were one, one, and two respectively. Unfortunately, the conclusion by Herzberg et al. that women are less intrinsically motivated than men has subsequently been widely quoted with little consideration of the fragility of the data base upon which the conclusion rests.

Later studies have attempted with only intermittent success to verify Herzberg et al.'s conclusion. Burke (1966a, 1966b) had female and male college students rank (five intrinsic and five extrinsic) job facets in order of importance to each of them. He found that both males and females had similar job facet preferences, and both ranked the intrinsic facets as more important than the extrinsic ones. According to Saleh and Lalljee (1969), it could be argued that differences in these results were due to the type of samples used, in that the studies reviewed by Herzberg et al. consisted primarily of a working population, while Burke used a student population. This argument was not, however, supported by the results of another recent study in which Centers and Bugental (1966) used a sample of 692 employed adults representing a cross-section of a major urban area. Respondents were presented with a card describing three intrinsic and three extrinsic job facets and were asked to choose which one of them was first, second, and third in importance. Although women placed a higher value on interpersonal relations than did men, and men laid greater importance on self-expression than did women, there were in general no sex differences in the overall value placed on intrinsic versus extrinsic facets.

Saleh and Lalljee further complicated matters by arguing that, even

if consistent sex differences could be identified in what workers want from their jobs, many such differences would probably be artifactual. They regard differences in education and job level as more fundamental than sex in determining job attitudes and argue that observed sex differences are the incidental results of differences between the sexes in terms of educational and occupational levels. Saleh and Lalljee draw the following conclusions from their data:

> When we consider the two broad categories of job attitude (Intrinsic vs. Extrinsic), the results suggest that, everything else being equal, what females look for in their work is not different from what males consider important. The results might be surprising to those who perceive the female role in society as distinctly different from that of the male. . . Assuming that social role affects job orientation, the results of the present studies suggest that role differentiation between men and women in this context is becoming, with time, less and less true. . . The general results of the third sample showed significant sex differences. The sample of 259 and 143 female employees represented a technical division of a large service-oriented organization. Education and job level were significantly different for the two sub-groups. When these two variables were controlled for a sample of clerks and of first-level supervisors, no sex differences appeared in job orientation.

Three conclusions may therefore be drawn from previous research on what men and women want from their jobs:

1. The most consistently replicated finding is that women are more concerned with the social aspects of their jobs, particularly with having good relations with co-workers (Centers & Bugental, 1966; Hardin, Reif, & Heneman, 1951; Herzberg et al., 1957; Jurgenson, 1947; Kilpatrick, Cummings Jr., & Jennings, 1964).

2. The often-repeated generalization that women are less intrinsically oriented than men has received only slight, and generally inconsistent empirical support.

3. Sex differences in importance of job facets, when they are observed,

are small in magnitude and tend to disappear when the confounding effects of educational and/or occupational level are removed.

Method

Sample

Personal interviews were conducted late in 1969 with a national probability sample of 1,533 Americans who were living in households, who were 16 years old or older, and who were working for pay for 20 hours a week or more. 539 of these workers were women, and 993 were men. One worker was excluded from the present analysis because his or her sex was improperly recorded. Since all eligible workers in a household were interviewed, every worker in the population had an equal probability of being selected. The data were therefore self-weighting. The sample was representative of the entire spectrum of occupations, and the results were consequently generalizable to the employed American work force. A full description of the sample and a copy of the interview schedule are presented by Quinn *et al.* (1971).

Measures

Tests of several of the stereotypes used data obtained from workers' ratings of job facets in terms of how important these facets were to them as job desiderata. Each of the 23 job facets, only a few of which were directly relevant to predictions concerning straw women, was represented by an evaluative statement (e.g., "the hours are good," "the work is interesting," "my supervisor is competent in doing his job"). Each worker rated these job facets according to the following instructions:

> The next question involves things a person may or may not look for in a job. . . . People differ a lot in terms of which of these things are more important to them. We'd like to know how important to *you* each of these things is. Please (rate each item) according to how *important* each thing is to *you*.

The four response alternatives were: "very important"; "somewhat important" "not too important"; "not at all important." Ratings were obtained by using Hunt, Schupp, and Cobb's (1966) automated card-sort technique.

Procedure

The analysis first attempted to identify whether there were indeed any observable sex differences that were consistent with the stereotypes. If such a difference was found, it was usually re-examined, controlling on the single aspect of the worker's job situation or life style which was felt to be the single most plausible contemporary explanation of the observed difference. Obviously, practically any difference could be eradicated (just as practically any difference could be enlarged) had a flurry of secondary controls been instituted. A ground-rule was therefore adopted: not more than one secondary control would be used in the analysis of each stereotype. This secondary control was either some characteristic of the worker's current job or some factor, such as marital status, that could be expected to make a major difference in a worker's current life-style.

Results and Discussion

1. Women work just for pin money

The first two stereotypes do not deal with attitudes toward the job itself, but rather with reasons for holding a job at all. Certainly, the choices presented to males and females differ in our culture. Boys choose what they want to do when they grow up, but the option of not doing anything in the labor market is rarely considered. Girls, on the other hand, are taught that their primary role is in the home. The decision to work, then, can be more of a conscious selection between options for women than for men.

According to the Random House Dictionary, "pin money" is either "any small sum set aside for nonessential minor expenditures" or "an allowance of money given by a husband to his wife for her personal expenditures". Supposedly, since most women are supported economically by either fathers or husbands, men should be paid more than women because men have families to support and need more money than women who are working just for a few extra luxuries.

The data indicated that about two out of every five working women could not be regarded as economically dependent on a male wage earner, be he either a husband or a father. A third of the women in the sample were the sole wage earners in their households. An additional eight percent reported that they provided the bulk of the family's income.

Working women were heavily over-represented among workers with low family incomes. Among families who had at least one worker who was interviewed and had a total annual family income of less than $5,000, 57 percent of the workers were women. As total family income

rose in the sample, the percentage of women workers dropped. Many of the women workers, then, were providing for a decent standard of living for their families, not just for a few extra luxuries.

2. Women would not work if they did not absolutely have to for economic reasons.

At first glance, this would seem to be proved by the data just presented. Since economic necessity forces many women to work, it could be inferred that those who do work do so only for the money. Neither personal involvement, nor the desire to do a good job for its own sake, nor any other intrinsic factors motivates women on the job, according to this stereotype, and a woman will quit when the economic need is removed. This line of reasoning makes no more sense for women than it does when applied to men. Demonstrating the presence of one motive does not preclude the possibility that other motivations also are involved.

Table 1.

Total annual family income	Percentage of workers at each income level who were women	N
Less than $3,400	58.6%	63
$3,400 - $4,999	56.6%	83
$5,000 - $7,499	32.7%	217
$7,500 - $9,999	29.7%	266
$10,000 - $14,999	29.4%	417
$15,000 or more	30.6%	310

Note: Chi-square test of association between total family income and sex of worker = 124.97; df + 5; $p < .001$.

Each worker in the sample was asked, "If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work?" Seventy-four percent of the men indicated that they would continue to work, while only fifty-seven percent of the women said they would. Most of this sex difference resulted, however, from response by married women. Single women did not differ significantly from men in the percentage who said they would continue to work in the absence of economic need.

The relatively low percentage of "yes" answers to the question among married women may be the result of the roles available to married women in our society. Married women have a well-defined, socially approved alternative to work -- the role of housewife and mother. These roles are the major sources of rewards and bases of self-identity for many women. Men and single women would have no such role, no clearly defined thing to do and be outside of work. Given the pervasiveness of the image of women as primarily wives and mothers and only secondarily as workers, it is noteable that half of the married women said that they would continue to work without economic need. It would appear that, for these women, work does indeed add something to their lives and that economic need is not the prime motive for remaining on the job.

3. Women are more concerned than men with the socio-emotional aspects of their jobs.

The usual implication of this statement is that women let emotional

ties with co-workers interfere with their performance on the job. According to this stereotype, women are more concerned with making friends and general socializing on the job than with getting their work done.

Although the study had no measure of job performance, it did have ratings of the importance which workers attached to various facets of their jobs. Four of these facets could be applied to the stereotype: "My co-workers are friendly and helpful;" "I am given a lot of chances to make friends;" "My supervisor is very concerned about the welfare of those under him;*" and "My supervisor is competent in doing his* job." There was only one significant sex difference in these importance ratings (Table 2). More women than men indicated that it was very important to them that their co-workers be friendly and helpful.

This difference could be explained in two ways. First, the early socialization of girls and boys might produce lasting personality differences between the sexes. Girls are generally taught from childhood to get what they want and need through interaction with others, whereas boys are generally trained to get what they want through their own exertions (Hoffman, 1972). A second explanation is found in the differences in types of jobs that men and women hold. The necessity of using others as a resource is reinforced by the demands of women's current work environments. Whereas the jobs of fifty-five percent of the men in the sample demanded significant interaction with other people (this was estimated from the coding of each worker's occupation, using the "people" code from

*The use of the pronoun "him" resulted from men having written the interview items. They have since been made to see the error of their ways.

Table 2

Importance Ratings of Job Facets

Facet	Sex	Percentage of workers assigning job facet to each rating category			N	Chi-Square	p
		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important[a]			
Stereotype 3							
My co-workers are friendly and helpful	Men	61.1%	28.3%	10.6%	975	6.957	<.05
	Women	67.7	22.4	9.9	526		
I am given a lot of chances to make friends	Men	44.8	29.4	25.8	980	0.943	n.s.
	Women	42.5	31.6	25.9			
My supervisor is very concerned about the welfare of those under him.	Men	48.3	27.9	23.9	926	5.400	n.s.
	Women	53.8	27.1	19.1	517		
My supervisor is competent in doing his job.	Men	58.9	25.1	16.1	934	5.926	n.s.
	Women	65.1	20.1	14.9			
Stereotype 4							
My responsibilities are clearly defined	Men	58.6%	24.5%	17.0%	973	8.986	<.05
	Women	66.3	21.0	12.8	525		
I am given a lot of freedom to decide how I do my own work	Men	56.7	29.3	14.0	976	27.31	<.001
	Women	46.1	29.7	24.2	529		

Table 2 (continued)

Facet	Sex	Percentage of workers assigning job facet to each rating category			N	Chi-Square	P
		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important			
Stereotype 5							
The hours are good	Men	45.6%	25.1%	29.4%	970	45.557	<.001
	Women	60.6	24.8	14.7	525		
The physical surroundings are pleasant	Men	38.4	34.5	27.1	974	8.133	<.05
	Women	43.3	36.1	20.6	529		
Travel to and from work is convenient	Men	41.5	30.0	28.6	978	33.076	<.001
	Women	54.9	28.1	16.9	526		
Stereotype 6							
I have an opportunity to develop my own special abilities	Men	65.0	20.4	14.6	993	5.771	n.s.
	Women	60.3	20.5	19.2	539		
The work is interesting	Men	72.9	17.3	9.8	980	0.022	n.s.
	Women	73.1	17.0	9.8	528		
I am given a chance to do the things I do best	Men	55.6	28.8	15.5	993	5.737	n.s.
	Women	51.9	27.7	20.4	539		

[a]The "a little important" and "not at all important" rating categories have been collapsed, with chi-square values and degrees of freedom (2) estimated accordingly.

the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, 1965), such interaction was demanded in the jobs of seventy-three percent of the women. However, even when a control was instituted on whether the job of each worker in the sample demanded significant interaction, the observed sex difference in the desire for friendly and helpful co-workers (Table 2) remained.

4. Women prefer not to take initiative on the job.

This stereotype is similar in two critical ways to the stereotype just described and to the one to follow. All three are quite consistent outcomes of what is known about the early socialization of men and women and there are no immediately evident current job forces that, for most women, would counteract such early socialization.

Significantly fewer women than men were interested in having freedom to do their jobs. Forty-six percent of the women felt that such freedom was "very important", as opposed to fifty-seven percent of the men. Women were also more concerned than men with having their job responsibilities clearly defined (sixty-six percent versus fifty-nine percent said this was "very important" to them -- Table 2).

5. Women are more concerned than men with the hygenic aspects of their jobs.

This notion follows easily from the accepted American masculine and feminine roles. Little girls are expected to be -- and taught to be -- tidy, fastidious, and "clean". Little boys are expected and taught to be tough, unconcerned with a little dirt, and able to tolerate (or at least not complain about) inconveniences or physical nuisances.

To use this stereotype to justify discrimination requires the assumption that women are willing to trade prestige and pay for jobs with

comfortable surroundings, good hours, and good transportation. This actually makes little sense, since high pay and high status are more often than not associated with good hours and pleasant physical surroundings.

The data showed several significant sex differences in the importance that workers assign to the hygenic aspects of work. Women valued good hours, ease of travel to and from work, and pleasant physical surroundings more than men did (Table 2).

Not only did such observed differences appear to be quite consistent with what is known about the early socialization of the sexes, but there appeared as well to be no job demand characteristics that would eradicate the observed first-order sex differences. Knowing that the quality of employment of working women is significantly less than that of equally qualified men, a deprivation hypothesis could plausibly have been invoked. According to this hypothesis, women, lacking hours, physical surroundings, and transportation to work as good as those of men, would value these commodities more highly. This was not supported. When a control was instituted on how much of each of the three commodities a worker had and the sex difference in the importance attached to it was examined, the initial sex differences persisted.

6. Women are less concerned than men with challenging work

Unlike the preceeding three stereotypes, there is little about the childhood socialization of the two sexes to support this stereotype. While it is clear that children are taught that work is more central to the male role than it is to the female role, there is no reason to believe that a woman who has chosen to work should want less challenging

work than a man. Generally this stereotype has been justified through two related, indirect, and unsubstantiated lines of reasoning. First, one can argue that women are less concerned than men with challenging work because their energies at work are more invested in their social relations; they have comparatively less time and energy to invest in self-development at work. Second, women are challenged in activities outside their work role, in their primary roles of wives and mothers. Since women have "enough" challenge in their lives from these other sources, they should be less concerned with challenge on the job.

The first prediction we made from this stereotype was that women would be less likely than men to feel that challenge from the job was very important. This was not supported. On the three items related to challenge for which there were importance ratings ("I have an opportunity to develop my own special abilities," "I am given a chance to do the things I do best," and "The work is interesting") there were no significant sex differences.

The second prediction derived from the stereotype was that women would be more satisfied than men with intellectually undemanding jobs. The intellectual demand of each worker's job was measured by a summary index of the worker's ratings of the extent to which his or her job "requires that you have to learn new things," "requires that you do a lot of planning ahead," "allows you a lot of freedom as to how you do your work," "requires that you be creative," and "allows you to do a variety of things."

The distribution of scores on this index was dichotomized at the median into "intellectually demanding" and "intellectually undemanding"

job categories. Mean scores on a measure of overall job satisfaction for workers of both sexes in these two groups. According to Table 3, women were over-represented in intellectually undemanding jobs, and the job satisfaction of workers in intellectually undemanding jobs was significantly lower than those in demanding ones. More pertinent to the test of the stereotype was the lack of a sex difference in job satisfaction when the intellectual demand level of the job was taken into account. Although women were generally less satisfied than men, this sex difference disappeared when the intellectual demand level of the job was controlled. Both men and women were equally dissatisfied with undemanding jobs.

Table 3

Mean Job Satisfaction in Relation to Sex of Worker and Intellectual Demand Level of Worker's Job

Intellectual demand level	Sex				t	p
	Men		Women			
	Mean satisfaction	N	Mean satisfaction	N		
Demanding	30	544	20	197	1.53	n.s.
Undemanding	-21	447	-28	340	1.13	n.s.
TOTAL	07	991	-11	537	3.65	$<.001$

7. Women are less concerned than men with getting ahead on the job.

The lure of promotion, with its attendant increases in pay, status, and responsibility is supposed to encourage hard work and extra effort. A person who is not interested in promotion may put forth only the minimum effort acceptable to his or her employer. According to this view of job mobility, the more ambitious people will rise to the top, leaving the others behind in lower-level jobs. And, according to this stereotype, the prevalence of women in lower-level positions is their own fault and not a product of deliberate discrimination by their employers, because women are not concerned with working hard to get ahead on their jobs.

It is unclear, on the basis of what is known about early socialization of boys and girls, whether women workers should be less concerned than men with promotions. Such a prediction could be based on the knowledge that achievement-related behavior is encouraged more among boys than among girls. This prediction assumes, however, that the desire for promotion is motivated by the need for achievement and nothing else. But being promoted can equally well be regarded as being instrumental to the attainment of other job-related goals that are either equally important to both sexes (e.g., having challenging work) or are in fact more important to women than to men (e.g., having a comfortable office, or receiving social approval).

Workers were asked two questions concerning promotions at their present place of employment: "Of course the future is uncertain, but approximately how many years or months do you think it will be before you are given a chance to take on a job at a higher level where you now work?" and "Approximately when would you like to take on a job at a

higher level?" In response to the latter question, significantly ($p < .001$) more women than men said that they never wanted to be promoted. This sex difference could have reflected a pervasive, characterologically-based disinclination of women to enter into the interpersonal competition that might be necessary in obtaining promotions, or a lack of occupationally-oriented ambition. Alternatively, the difference could have reflected a scaling-down of ambition to correspond to reality. An individual who feels that promotion is highly unlikely may adjust to the situation by accepting it and decide not to "eat his/her heart out" over an advancement which will never come.

That women are promoted less frequently than men is evident in the high concentration of women in lower-status occupations. Among the comparatively few overt complaints of occupational sex discrimination made by women in the present study in response to the question, "In what ways do you feel you have been discriminated against (on your job because you are a woman)?" 62.8 percent of the complaints involved promotional issues. Precisely how much the expectation of promotion may affect the desire to be promoted is clearly shown in Table 4. The table's percentages demonstrate a strong positive relationship between expectation and desire. More relevant to this particular straw woman is the fact that once the expectation of when a worker would be promoted was controlled, the observed first-order sex difference in the desire to be promoted evaporated. Both men and women appeared to be equally inclined to adjust their desires to their realistic expectations. That women in general were less interested than men with promotions on their present jobs was, according to the data, mainly a result of their resignation to their expectations that they were not going to be promoted.

Table 4

Percentage of Workers Indicating that they Wanted to be Promoted at Various Times in Relation to Sex of Worker and Worker's Estimate of When He or She Expected to be Promoted

	Percentage of workers indicating when they wanted to be promoted			
	At any time between up to three years from the present	Between three and 20 years from the present	Never[b]	N[b]
Workers indicating that they expected to be promoted at any time between the present up to three years from the present				
Men	94.9%	1.7%	3.4%	175
Women	88.5	0.0	11.5	61
	(Chi-square for above data = 5.843; df = 2; n.s.)			
Workers indicating that they expected to be promoted at some time between three and 20 years from the present				
Men	72.9%	22.9%	4.2%	48
Women	53.3	26.7	20.0	15
	(Chi-square for above data = 4.320; df = 2; n.s.)			
Workers indicating that they never[b] expected to be promoted				
Men	37.1%	1.7%	61.2%	299
Women	35.1	0.9	64.0	222
	(Chi-square for above data = 0.859; df = 2; n.s.)			

[a]Excludes part-time and self-employed workers.

[b]"Never" was identified by either the worker's explicit indication of "never" or by a reference to a time 20 years or more in the future.

Discussion

The picture that emerges of American working women, then, is more complex than stereotypes about them. In general, they do not work just for pin money, although, if married, they are less inclined to work in the absence of economic need than are American men. Women are not more satisfied with undemanding jobs or less concerned with a challenging job and the opportunity to advance than are men.

Women do differ from men in the desire for initiative on the job, and they are more concerned with having friendly and helpful co-workers and with convenience and comfort than men are, and these results may reflect stable sex differences that are not entirely accounted for by the different nature of their jobs. This does not mean, however, that these differences cannot be affected, strengthened or weakened by job conditions. It is also important to note that the greater importance which women, compared to men, placed on such "extrinsic" job characteristics as pleasant physical surroundings and good working hours was not reflected at all in any de-emphasis of the importance of the opportunity to use one's skills in an interesting job. The hydraulic model of human desires, which assumes that "investing energy" in one aspect of life must leave less energy to be invested elsewhere is an attractive intellectual fallacy. The data shows that the same people can and do value both "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" job facets.

Overall, there were more similarities between the sexes on job attitudes than differences. That there were differences is not surprising: The socialization processes which separate men and women from childhood on are bound to lead to some typical differences in personality makeups. But

learning and socialization do not stop with the end of childhood; adults learn and react to their contemporary situations, and their attitudes and motivations can change in response to new experiences, challenges, and demands.

Other data from this survey have shown that it can be safely and reliably predicted that a female worker would be paid much less than an equally qualified male worker. The average underpayment to women was $3,458 per year. The results of the present analysis indicate that this underpayment can not be attributed to differences between men and women in their job-related attitudes. Even where significant sex differences were found, the magnitude of those differences was generally small. Job-related attitudes, unlike job rewards, could not be substantially predicted from the sex of the worker. There are, therefore, no objective grounds for justifying pay differentials on the basis of presumed sex differences in the types of jobs workers want.

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